

sharing its promise with others. Georgia Tech is to be commended for its living history program and its selection of Joe McCutchen.●

IRAQ TRIP REPORT

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, during the July 4th recess, I traveled to Iraq and Jordan to evaluate the progress of Operation Iraqi Freedom. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my trip report be entered into the RECORD at this point.

I spent two days—July 5 and 6—in Iraq and the morning of July 7 in Jordan. I believe mine was the first Congressional delegation to overnight in Iraq since the start of the war. It was also my fifth post-war trip to Iraq.

In Iraq, I spent a day and a half in Baghdad meeting with U.S. Embassy and military personnel and with Members of the Government of Iraq, including the President and Prime Minister. Additionally, I met with numerous Sunni Arabs, including officials of the Government, a member of the Iraqi National Assembly, and representatives of political groups, including some who had just been added to the Assembly's constitutional drafting committee. I also met with the Chairman of the constitutional drafting committee and the UN Special Representative, whose staff is advising on the drafting of the constitution.

I spent the remainder of the second day in Iraq in Fallujah in the Sunni Triangle, where I was able to meet with a number of U.S. servicemen and women, and was privileged to have dinner with ten Marine Corps and Navy personnel from Michigan.

Once again, I was deeply impressed by the dedication and professionalism of our servicemen and women and with their very high morale. I told them that the Congress and the American people are proud of them and back them one hundred percent, regardless of differing positions on the Administration's policies.

One purpose of my trip was to gauge the level of the insurgency. I found strong support for the recent assessment of General Abizaid, the regional U.S. Commander, that the insurgency is not weakening and that the flow of foreign jihadists into Iraq has increased. I found no support for Vice President Cheney's view that the insurgency is in its "last throes."

Another purpose of my trip was to assess the current and potential level of participation of the Sunni Arabs in the political and constitutional drafting processes, including the likelihood that the Iraqi constitution would be completed by August 15th (and therefore not needing to utilize the one six month extension allowed under Iraqi law). I was surprised by the optimism of most Iraqis that the constitution would be agreed by August 15th and particularly that the Sunni Arab participants (recently increased by 15) would likely be supportive of the draft. If that is true, that will pave the way for a referendum on the draft constitution on October 15th and a national election on December 15th.

If this optimism is not borne out, however, a way must be found to bring pressure to bear on the parties to make the reasonable compromises that will be required for agreement on the constitution. Everyone whom I met on this trip advised that none of the Iraqis—not just Shia and Kurd, but also Sunni Arab—want U.S. forces to leave now. They want our forces to be less visible and Iraqi security forces to be more visible, but they want us to stay for now.

Given that fact and given the consensus that a political solution is necessary if there is any prospect of defeating the insurgency, we need to make clear to the Iraqis that if they are unable to reach agreement on the constitution, we will reconsider our presence in Iraq and that all options will be on the table, including withdrawal. (The logic of that position is that if a political settlement is essential if there is a chance of lessening the insurgency, that without a political settlement the insurgency is not going to be defeated even with our presence.)

I focused on meeting with members of the Sunni Arab community, as I believe they are the key to a successful political process in Iraq. Most of them realize it was a mistake for them not to have participated in the January elections and they want to participate in the drafting of a constitution and in the follow-on elections. At the same time, the so-called former regime element that is fueling the insurgency in an attempt to block a political settlement comes from the Sunni Arab community, and too many members of that community sympathize with and provide support for the insurgents.

There are a number of issues that will need to be resolved if a draft constitution is to be agreed upon by August 15th. These include the role of Islam; the form of the government (i.e. parliamentary or presidential); the relationship between the national government and the provinces and the degree to which natural resources will belong to the provinces or the national government; and the degree of autonomy that will reside in the regions. Since the oil resources of Iraq are located in the Shia south and the Kurdish north, these are issues that are extremely important to the Sunni Arabs, whose area lacks oil resources.

The decision of the National Assembly to accept 15 Sunni Arabs as members of the constitutional drafting committee, despite the Sunni Arabs lack of participation in the election, hopefully augurs well for the kind of compromises that will need to be made by all three of the main political factions for a draft constitution to be reached.

Although the successful drafting of a constitution, with the active participation of the Sunni Arab community, is very important and may help create an environment within which the insurgency can be dramatically reduced, it will not automatically achieve that result. The Sunni Arabs with whom we met, although from different groups, complained of the extended detention of their brethren, the perceived focus of raids by Coalition and Iraqi security forces on their community, the forced unemployment of hundreds of thousands of Sunni Arabs fired in the de-Baathification process and denied the pensions to which they contributed. They expressed a preference for the U.S. military to leave the cities and to locate on bases removed from populated areas, and the need for at least a rough estimate as to when Coalition forces will be withdrawn.

I explored in depth the training and equipping of Iraqi security forces. It is clear that a great deal of time was wasted during the existence of the Coalition Provisional Authority or CPA. While it appears that progress is being made now, it is moving slowly and will take quite some time before Iraqis will be capable of dealing with the insurgency on their own.

In his recent speech to the nation on Iraq, President Bush said, with respect to the training and equipping of Iraqi security forces, that "as Iraqis stand up, we will stand down." General Casey, the overall commander on the ground in Iraq, acknowledged to me that he is working on a plan whereby units of the Iraqi security forces would first partner with Coalition military

units and gradually take the lead in military operations, then will assume control in selected provinces, and gradually assume control more broadly until they ultimately can control the entire country. Part of that plan provides for Coalition forces to be reduced as Iraqi security forces become more and more capable.

I also spoke to General Casey and to Iraqi officials about the need for greater progress in the review of Iraqis detained by Coalition or Iraqi forces and the need to either release or try them. While some progress has been made in this area, it has been too slow in coming and much more must be done and done quickly.

In Jordan, I was pleased to be able to meet with King Abdullah. King Abdullah had just finished presiding over the closing session of a three day International Islamic Conference that he had organized. This visionary and critically important Conference was attended by top Muslim authorities from around the globe. It was aimed at finding common principles among various Muslim schools of thought and isolating and delegitimizing those who preach violence in the name of Islam.

Two things need to happen within the next 40 days to improve chances of a successful outcome in Iraq.

A draft of the Iraqi constitution needs to be agreed and sent to the National Assembly by the constitutional committee no later than August 15—the timetable the Iraqis have set for themselves. All of the people with whom I spoke—whether Sunni, Shia, or Kurd—agree that that date should and can be met.

There also needs to be a more detailed road map for drawing down U.S. forces. General Casey, commander of the multi-national forces in Iraq, has said that it should be possible for a fairly significant reduction in U.S. force levels in the first few months of next year. But what is so far missing are the decision criteria for determining when that reduction can begin so that presidential rhetoric and statements of intent are turned into a credible and reassuring roadmap for Iraqis taking ownership of the risks and responsibility for their own security and survival.

After much prodding by Congress, the Administration has finally created and implemented a capability assessment system for determining the readiness of Iraqi military and police units to conduct counter-insurgency operations—whether alongside of Coalition units, or in the lead but with Coalition support, or independently. Now there must be a detailed plan, mutually agreed to by the Coalition and Iraqis, with measurable benchmarks to determine progress, and with a reasonable estimate of the time required to reach those benchmarks. Only in this way can we know the approximate number of Iraqi units that need to be capable of counterinsurgency operations so that coalition units can first withdraw from cities and other visible locations and begin a withdrawal from the country as a whole.

It is essential that such a plan be promptly agreed to and implemented, and its outline publicly announced, so as to provide reassurance to the American public which is expressing growing concern about simply being told we need to "stay the course" in Iraq, and to the Iraqi public which needs to see that U.S. forces will not be in their country indefinitely. Both publics must see that the President's statement that "as the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down" is not just a bumper sticker slogan.

Secretary Rice has said that we will be in Iraq as long as we are needed. Without adopting and implementing a measured and credible plan, coalition forces could be "needed" for an indeterminate time. Without such a plan, Iraqis may never assume the

responsibility for taking back their country from the insurgents and taking the risks and making the compromises necessary to chart their own destiny.

Finally, while I was surprised by the high level of optimism about the August 15 date being met for agreement on a draft Iraqi constitution, I was given a sobering assessment about the current and future strength of the insurgency.

Even if the timetable for adopting a constitution is met, and even if a plan is agreed upon for phasing in capable Iraqi military forces to take over responsibility for security so U.S. forces in Iraq can simultaneously be reduced, there is still great uncertainty that the insurgency will be eliminated or lessened in the near term.

But, while taking those steps doesn't guarantee success, they could help change the dynamic in Iraq and provide the only way a poorly thought through and mistake ridden U.S. policy in Iraq can still reach a successful conclusion.●

TRIBUTE TO JOHN H. JOHNSON

● Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a renowned publisher, entrepreneur, businessman, humanitarian and an outstanding Arkansan, Mr. John Harold Johnson.

John H. Johnson, a native of Arkansas City, AR, was born on January 19, 1918, to Leroy and Gertrude Johnson. Over 60 years ago, John H. Johnson founded and became owner of the largest black-owned publishing company in the world, Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., located in Chicago, IL. From this company, the Negro Digest, Ebony, Jet and other magazines and periodicals were created. Ebony and Jet magazines enabled Johnson to have an impact on Civil Rights in America, Entertainment, Sports and the Nation's culture as a whole. These two magazines continue to successfully reflect and comment on the African-American experience. Johnson has also enjoyed success in the cosmetic industry with the establishment of Fashion Fair Cosmetics.

In 1999, the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff and Arkansas City, AR, formed an alliance for the creation of the John H. Johnson Delta Cultural and Entrepreneurial Learning Center. The Cultural and Entrepreneurial Learning Center will provide accommodations in Arkansas City for classroom and educational activities that originate at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff.

On Saturday, May 21, 2005, the John H. Johnson Cultural and Education Museum was dedicated in Johnson's hometown. Using materials from the original, the museum was constructed as a replica of Johnson's boyhood home. It will now provide valuable insight into his life and origin while bringing tourism dollars to his native home of Arkansas City and the surrounding area. His life is an inspirational American story where, rising from poverty with a strong sense of self, he overcame adversity and became one of the country's most successful entrepreneurs. I am grateful to have

been a part of this magnificent event and honored to have Mr. John H. Johnson at the top of the list of notable Arkansans and Americans. ●

IBM BOULDER'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY

● Mr. SALAZAR. Mr. President, I ask that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, DC, June 30, 2005.

IBM BOULDER,
Diagonal Highway,
Boulder, CO.

DEAR FRIENDS, It is with great pleasure that I am able to share in your celebration of IBM Boulder's 40th Anniversary here at this majestic site next to the Rocky Mountains. IBM's commitment to this facility, and to the region, serves as a testament to its central role in the development of the technology industry here in Colorado.

When IBM Boulder was founded in 1965, this region was still mostly agricultural. By choosing to locate amongst undisturbed open space and farmland, IBM demonstrated a bold vision for the symbiotic potential of the technology industry with the natural beauty of our State. I also respect and admire how the workers at this facility have survived the ebb and flow of the industry over the past 40 years. They have shifted from manufacturing computer parts in the early years to housing and supporting 20 different IBM divisions that now develop printing systems, design engineering, software and global services. And IBM's commitment to the community through the annual Employee Charitable Contribution Campaign has left a lasting mark on local health and human service agencies that sets a tone for others to emulate.

Thank you for the honor of joining in your anniversary celebration. As your newest United States Senator, I am proud of the rich economic diversity of our State. You should be proud of your significant contributions to the region and to Colorado.

Sincerely,

KEN SALAZAR,
U.S. Senator.●

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:19 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 168. Concurrent resolution condemning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the abductions and continued captivity of citizens of the Republic of Korea and Japan as acts of terrorism and gross violations of human rights.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following concurrent resolution was read, and referred as indicated:

H. Con. Res. 168. Concurrent resolution condemning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the abductions and continued captivity of citizens of the Republic of Korea and Japan as acts of terrorism and gross violations of human rights; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and placed on the calendar:

S. 1374. A bill to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to provide for a border preparedness pilot program on Indian land.

S. 1375. A bill to amend the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 to modify provisions relating to criminal proceedings and civil actions, and for other purposes.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

S. 1382. A bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to accept the conveyance of certain land, to be held in trust for the benefit of the Puyallup Indian tribe.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-2899. A communication from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting, the report of proposed legislation "To authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for science, aeronautics, and exploration; space flight capabilities; and Inspector General, and for other purposes" received on June 27, 2005; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2900. A communication from the Director, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Federal Assistance for Interjurisdictional and Anadromous Fisheries Program Report 2003-2004"; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2901. A communication from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Science, Service, and Stewardship in Chesapeake Bay: A Biennial Report to Congress"; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2902. A communication from the Acting White House Liaison, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a vacancy in the position of Director, NIST, the designation of an Acting Director, and the name of a nominee to fill the vacancy; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2903. A communication from the Acting White House Liaison, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a vacancy in the position of Assistant